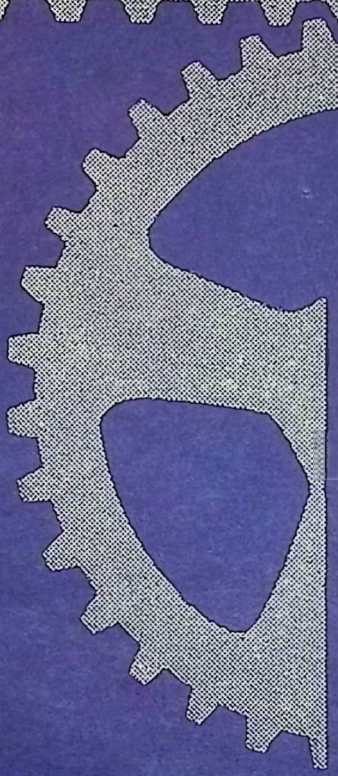
Party Organizer



"Our slogan of 'Theory to the Masses' must . . . be utilized in raising the political level of our membership and broad circles of workers around our Party . . . This slogan must not be lost sight of, but on the contrary, must be especially emphasized, during the election struggle when millions of toilers will be reached with the word of our Party and will turn to us for further guidance." (RESOLUTION ON LITERATURE WORK, Ninth National Convention.)

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PARTY ORGANIZER

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The Watchword of the Recruiting Drive—Organization

JUDGING BY THE MATERIAL received by the Organization Department of the Central Committee from the various Districts, it can be said that the preparatory stages of the drive are almost over. Many of the State Committees, City Committees, Sections and Counties have worked out plans for the drive in their respective localities, assigned quotas, issued printed material in various forms, etc.

Some Districts (and we say *some* advisedly) have set up well-functioning Membership Committees which, with the assistance of the comrades from the leading Party organizations, are issuing bulletins, propaganda material to the units, are effectively checking on the recruiting and smoothly keeping the wheels of this apparatus turning so that there is no delay in attaching new recruits to the varied Party organizations.

At the recent Eastern Organizational Conference it was clearly proven that not all District Committees have carried out the directives sent by the C. C. Organization Commission. Therefore it becomes necessary to emphasize again and again that unless the essential features of the directives—*organization of the recruiting drive*—are to be materialized at once, we will not achieve the primary aim, that of doubling our membership and keeping the new members.

In the articles which have appeared in the *Daily Worker, Party Organizer* and particularly in the directives sent by the C. C. Org. Department, the where and how of recruiting were clearly indicated. Emphasis was laid on the necessity of our leading Party comrades now engaged in basic campaigns, that of election and the organization of the unorganized in the mass production industries, being in the lead in this recruiting drive.

A close follow-up must be made on these comrades and their achievements publicized in the *Daily Worker* so that they may

Challenge on Party Recruiting

FROM THE NEW YORK SECTION ORGANIZERS TO SECTION ORGANIZERS THROUGHOUT THE STATES

THE SECTION ORGANIZERS of the State of New York, at a meeting where the building if the Party was discussed, pledged quotas individually and for their respective Sections, to build a Party of 30,000 in our state by the time of the Lenin Memorial Meeting, January 23, 1937:

"In the spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm, we Section Organizers of New York State are determined to answer the attacks of Hearst and all reactionary forces by building the revolutionary Party of the American working class—the Communist Party. We urge every Unit and Branch Organizer to set quotas and to challenge each other to fulfill these quotas. We call upon the entire membership of our Party, each and every member in it, to recruit at least *one* worker into our ranks by the Lenin Memorial Meeting and particularly during the election campaign.

"In the same spirit of revolutionary determination and Socialist competition we challenge the Section Organizers in America to accept our call and pledge their quotas for recruiting, to bring our Party up to 100,000 by January 23. We nominate Comrade James W. Ford, the Secretary of the Harlem Division of the Communist Party and the Party's candidate for Vice-President, to keep the score. We call upon the Section Organizers to send in their quotas and weekly reports to Comrade Ford.

"Comrades, Section Organizers: the American people are waging the most important battle since the Civil War. Our Party plays a decisive role in this struggle. We can help determine victory for the people by building a strong Communist Party. We have done it in the past—we can do it now. Let's get to work and build a Party of 100,000!"

The Function of the New York District Membership Drive

MAX STEINBERG

THE PARTY IN NEW YORK is at present engaged in a drive to recruit 15,000 new members into its ranks, to bring the total membership up to 30,000 by the Lenin Memorial Meeting. In order to achieve this goal, the Party as a whole—the State Committee and all of its departments—have to be fully engaged in developing the recruiting drive as part of the everyday political life and activity of the Party, especially during this election campaign. It is the Membership Committee that has to follow up daily the results achieved by the collective efforts of the entire Party. The methods pursued by this Membership Committee; the efficiency of the Membership Committee, and its alertness to the problems involved, are a great factor in bringing in thousands of new members, and keeping them in the Party. For this reason, we are at present concentrating on strengthening the Membership Committee in the District, as well as in the counties and Sections to guarantee not only the signing of these thousands of application cards at meetings, through personal contact, etc., but actually bringing the applicants into the various Party organizations and seeing to it that they are promptly and properly handled.

The job of the Membership Committee is indeed a tremendous one. To enumerate some of the daily work of this committee, we can cite the following: handling the constant stream of people who come to the District with all sorts of problems, beginning with the Membership Directors of the Sections; individuals who come in for information as to how to join the Party; or how to join under special circumstances; how to get into the Party after long neglect by the Sections; requests on how to reapply after having dropped out for one reason or another; transfers from or to other cities outside of the District, etc. The State Membership Committee also follows up contacts for the Party, such as those who have reacted to the radio broadcasts, as well as through other channels requesting further information about the Communist Party. It issues hundreds of books weekly; issues hundreds of transfers from one Section to another every week, making all efforts to check up as to whether

these members reach the Sections they are transferred to and are properly handled. The State Membership Committee follows up the hundreds and at times thousands of workers who sign application cards, pay initiation fees, are approved and accepted by unit bureaus, have books issued in their name in the District, and yet for one or another reason are not assigned and brought into the Party units. In this case, the Membership Committee submits the names of these comrades to the various Sections responsible for their assignment, with directives on how to reach and draw them into the active ranks of the Party.

The Membership Committee keeps records of our membership and constantly analyzes the composition of the membership; tallies the percentages of the various groups in the Party, such as of industrial workers, white collar and basic industrial workers; nationalities, trade union affiliations, etc. In this way the Membership Committee is instrumental in keeping the whole leadership informed as to the Party's composition and is awake to the necessity of continuously strengthening and improving the composition of our Party.

And finally, the Membership Committee constantly works with the Sections of the Party, helping them to build up membership committees and works with these committees, guiding them, so that they will become more and more efficient and effective in their work.

To fulfill its task, and to be able to handle all these above-enumerated matters, it requires a strong Membership Committee, with the head of this committee possessing a political understanding of the role of the Party in the everyday life of the masses, at the same time being efficient and methodical in the work. It is necessary for this comrade to be not only politically developed, but also to know how to go about the routine work; how to handle people individually, etc. In other words, what is necessary for this comrade is not only to make the proper political presentation on the importance of recruiting and maintaining the members recruited, and not to minimize the smaller and important details such as seeing people, keeping an analysis of membership; but what is essential is that this comrade fully appreciates the importance to the Party of how to handle individuals properly, to see the value of a continuous analysis of our membership, etc.

The Membership Committee in New York so far carried out all of these tasks enumerated above to a more or less satis-

factory degree and played its positive role in the growth of the Party to its present size.

How does the Membership Committee of New York function? The committee consists of eleven comrades who meet twice a month in regular session. At these meetings, the committee takes up and discusses the various problems that come up in the course of work between meetings, as well as the general problems of membership that arise. This committee usually proceeds to solve these problems itself, unless problems arise that are basic. In such cases they are raised with the Org. Commission. But not only does the committee discuss the problems at a meeting, but between meetings the members of this committee are assigned to work with the various Section Membership Committees. They not only meet with them, but actually work with them, showing them the methods followed in the District; help them to solve problems that come up daily in the Sections on which the Sections feel that they have to consult the District. The Membership Committee members also participate in the meetings of the membership directors of the units and branches, etc. A few comrades of the Membership Committee assist the membership director in the office from time to time, preparing reports to the Sections, charts, etc. While through this method the Membership Committee finds its way down to the Sections, at the same time once a month a meeting of all the membership directors of the Sections is held in the District, where the entire committee, with the membership director at the head, participates in a discussion of the general problems and experiences. Thus they lay the base for further improvement of the work in the District as well as in the Sections. While we cannot say that there is perfection in the Membership Committee, yet so far, as stated above, the Membership Committee has functioned fairly well.

It is at this time, with the beginning of the membership drive in which we expect to recruit thousands of new members into the Party monthly, and arrive at a membership of 30,000 within a short period, that we are concentrating on improving this committee, by bringing in some stronger forces and by establishing closer ties between the membership committee and the Org. Commission of the District.

One of the greatest weaknesses in our whole membership apparatus is the fact that we have not succeeded yet in bringing about in the Sections a full appreciation of the importance of

the membership committee as an effective factor in the entire Party apparatus. While we may say that in a number of Sections we have created some pretty strong membership committees, especially the heads of these committees, yet in a number of our Sections these committees are still underestimated and looked upon as a merely technical apparatus. The leadership of the Party Sections assumes that these comrades just have to write out books, issue transfers, and that ends their job. If their approach and attitude would be different, they would treat the membership directors as part of the political and organizational apparatus of the Sections.

A well-functioning membership committee can be an integral part of the organizational apparatus and, through its handling of members, watching the development of members who come in, through the new members' classes, etc., be in a position to select and develop cadres for the Party. In the District, in spite of the multitude of problems that come up daily, and in spite of the lack of time, the District Organizer, and certainly the District Org. Secretary, finds it necessary to discuss one matter or another with the membership director almost daily and, when necessary, more than once a day. In the District we are attentive to such functionaries as the heads of the membership committee and the treasurer and draw them into the political and organizational activity of the District, going into their problems daily, assisting them in every way possible. This is not yet the case in most of the Sections. In many Sections the heads of the membership committees are not even members of the Org. Commission but are completely disconnected from the rest of the leadership and the problems of the Section. The result is that in many cases some very good comrades who were assigned as membership directors in the Sections, after a few months of being left to drift by themselves and solve matters as best they can, began to feel that they are not an integral part of the leadership. They were made to feel that it is only some technical job. Finally they clamored for release, which in most cases had to be granted. Hence we noticed at the monthly meetings of the membership directors new faces—comrades who had to start from the beginning and who dropped out of sight within a few months.

In order to handle the present membership, as well as the 15,000 new ones that we will recruit by the Lenin Memorial Meeting, it will be necessary not only to strengthen the Membership Committee in the District. The Org. Department of the

District, together with the Membership Committee, is now taking steps to check up on every Section of the Party, not merely to establish the apparatus for recruiting as outlined in our plan, but to build up a real, politically strong and efficient Membership Committee that will be able to handle the membership and all of the problems enumerated above, at least as efficiently and as effectively as we have done in the District. And this will be reflected in the entire work of the District as a whole.

EVERY PARTY MEMBER MUST BE A LEADER

"Systematic guidance, assistance, and training must be given to the leading personnel selected for promotion. Every leading Party member must assume this task as part of his daily life, not only in Party schools, but in all our work. The special problems of each person must be considered, his preferences and qualifications must be considered in assignment of work, and special help given to overcome special difficulties.

"Finally, the whole Party life must be organized on the principle of making every Party member into a leader among the masses. Every member must assume the task of leading and educating at least *one* worker outside the Party; he shall consider himself a real Bolshevik only when fifty to a hundred workers regularly look to him for guidance and leadership in the problems of the class struggle." (Earl Browder, *Democracy or Fascism.*)

Experiences with a Communist County Committee

FRED BASSETT, *Milwaukee*

AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR the experiences of our District in carrying out the line of our Party with regard to the united front between the S. P. and our Party, and the building of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, made it clear to us that certain organizational changes were necessary in order to carry out our tasks more swiftly. The formation of ward branches was a correct step. But it was imperative, in order to strengthen our work for the united front and for building the F.L.P.F., to centralize our political leadership in Milwaukee County by forming a single county committee to coordinate the work of the branches and units, and deal with the political problems of the city and county as a whole.

Problems are constantly arising in Milwaukee city and county that must be dealt with immediately. The previous set-up hindered such prompt county wide coordinated action. An additional reason for the change is the fact that the organizations with which we have to deal have county and city committees. The Workers Alliance, Socialist Party, and Farmer Labor Progressive Federation are organized in this way; the Federated Trades Council, uniting the A.F. of L. locals, is a county wide body. We had to have a committee of our Party conforming to these committees.

Previously, the District Bureau, resident naturally in the largest industrial center of the state, Milwaukee, took up the problems of the state as a whole, and of Milwaukee city and county as well. It took up problems in a general way; formulating general policies. Then the responsibility for concretizing and carrying out the policies in Milwaukee County was divided among the three Section Committees in the county. These Section Committees, which were in actuality administrative organs, mere distributing and mobilizing centers rather than political bodies, could not handle the problems of the political unit as a whole. The work of the comrades in these committees, intensely detailed, was confined to a part of the county, leading to a "sectional" outlook; preventing these committees from being political factors

in the city or county. Hence the District Bureau was compelled, in a addition to formulating policies and guiding the work in the state as a whole, to do the same for Milwaukee city and county. Now, with the responsibility for concretizing and carrying out the policies of the Party in Milwaukee resting with the County Committee, the State Committee is able to devote more time and attention to the other parts of the state. A decentralization of responsibility has taken place, which has strengthened the work and authority of the lower Party committees.

Six month of experience with the Milwaukee County Committee prove definitely that its formation was the correct thing to do. It has strengthened and centralized the leadership in the county, placing greater responsibility upon it. It has helped the branches and units, not only by releasing comrades for direct work in the basic organizations, but compelling on the part of the county leadership concentration on the problems of the city and county as a whole, thereby enabling the branch and shop unit committees to be more intimately linked with the problems of the masses, and give them better leadership. As a result, not only is the County Committee becoming a more effective political factor in Milwaukee, but the branches particularly are political factors in their wards.

Let us take a few examples. First, in strike struggles: previously the Section Committees would say: "The strike is taking place in such and such a Section. It is the problem of that Section." It was difficult to get coordination of the entire Party in a local strike. An example of this was the dairy drivers' strike a year ago, where mobilization and action was impaired by this approach of the Section Committees. Now every strike and every unemployed struggle is the business of the County Committee, which makes it the concern of the entire membership. An example of this was the work of the Party in the strike of the *Wisconsin News* reporters, led by the Newspaper Guild.

Previously, the District Bureau, in addition to handling questions throughout the state, gave attention to the Trades Council, and the problems constantly arising in it. But the work was hampered, and not fully developed because responsibility was not placed upon the Milwaukee comrades. Now the Trades Council is the concern of the County Committee, and coordinated action of all shop and trade union comrades is carried through all the county—not sufficiently yet, it is true, but the work has definitely begun. The former Section Committees could only

give attention to work in individual locals situated in their Section territory; but none of them, not even all put together, could coordinate the work as it is done now.

The Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, which is developing in the direction of a Farmer-Labor Party, is organized on a county scale. Our work in the Milwaukee Federation is centralized through our County Committee, which, under the old Section set-up, would be very difficult.

Now, also, it is possible to pay attention to questions that arise in the Common Council and Board of Supervisors. If these are not yet sufficiently dealt with, it is not the fault of the organization form, but rather of the personnel. The organizational form lays the road wide open for county wide action of our Party on all issues, and notable successes have been scored already, particularly in the field of the anti-fasicst struggle, the fight in defense of Spanish democracy, and the fight around the C.I.O.

Certain experiments as to the number of members in the committee, as to organizers' meetings, organizational bulletins for the units, etc., have been required. We carried through these experiments having in mind releasing the maximum number of comrades for work in the branches and shop units, and devotion of the time of our comrades to the greatest possible extent for work in the Workers Alliance, the unions, the Federation, Townsend Clubs, etc. The great number of organizational changes resulted temporarily in a bit of organizational looseness which gradually is being overcome. For a while, there tended to be a gap between the branches and units and the County Committee; there was some difficulty with sudden mobilizations; there was some difficulty in relaying decisions from the County Committee to the membership. At present, it appears that some intermediate administrative and mobilizing bodies may have to be set up in the future, such as congressional district committees, which will be nothing like the former Section Committees.

There have been some weaknesses in the work of the County Committee, particularly in work amongst the youth, and in Party building. The establishment of a personnel department and discipline commission marks a step forward to the solution of the latter problem. Educational work likewise is yet not sufficiently developed; though the regular issuance of ward newspapers by most of the branches marks a definite step forward that was never possible before. The work of our Party in the

spring elections, and now in the fall elections, certainly is one of the strongest arguments in favor of the County Committee. There have been weaknesses in this work, but inconceivably more of a mass campaign, with the Party more of a factor in the campaign than could have been possible under the old set-up.

As a corollary of the strengthened political work of our Party through the formation of the County Committee, the problem of financing the work of the Party is on the road to solution. The scope of the Party's work has increased with the localization of attention to political problems; and with the increased scope of the work, increased finances have resulted.

If there is any doubt in the minds of comrades in other organizations of the Party as to the correctness of forming County Committees, our experiences in Milwaukee certainly show that this doubt should be eliminated.

THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

"*Such a party* [Farmer-Labor Party] *would be a specific form of the mass people's front in America* that should be set up in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascism. Such a party, of course, will be *neither* Socialist *nor* Communist. But it *must be* an anti-fascist party and must *not be* an anti-Communist party. The program of this party must be directed against the banks, trusts and monopolies, against the principal enemies of the people who are gambling on its misfortunes. Such a party will be equal to its task only if it defends the urgent demands of the working class, only if it fights for genuine social legislation, for unemployment insurance; only if it fights for land for the white and black sharecroppers and for their liberation from the burden of debt; only if it works for the cancellation of the farmers' indebtedness; only if it fights for the equal status of the Negroes; only if it fights for the demands of the war veterans, and for the interests of the members of the liberal professions, the small business men, the artisians." (G. Dimitroff, *The United Front Against War and Fascism.*)

How to Work In a Shop Unit

H. LAWRENCE, *South Chicago*

PARTY UNIT B, in one of the big mills in the Chicago area, has been one of the most important factories in deciding events in the steel drive. This unit has only six members. Unit A in the same mill is larger but until the last few weeks has not been as effective.

Unit B has been instrumental in issuing a printed shop bulletin for several months. The bulletin is attractive, interesting and concrete. The workers read it eagerly. It is distributed inside the mill and at the gates. The bulletin has definitely increased the prestige of the Party in the mill and has been a factor in allaying the Red scare.

As a result of correct work in the company union an independent union was formed about a year ago. Following this, Unit B was organized.

At the last elections of department representatives in the company union, the independent union put up an almost complete slate. The majority of this slate was elected. The leading company agents were defeated because of the effective struggle led by the unit in exposing the role of the company union.

When the drive to organize steel began the unit began work inside the mills and in the independent union for the support of the C.I.O. Opposition in the independent union to the A. F. of L. was overcome and the union voted to secure a charter from the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Unit B was instrumental in starting a "circulating" library in the mill. A comrade would bring a copy of Browder's *What is Communism?* into the mill which would pass from one worker to another. Several copies of this book are still in circulation. No one knows who originally brought the copies into the mill.

One unit member got eight subscriptions to the *Sunday Worker*. Other unit members prepared the ground for several other subscriptions which were secured by members of street units.

About twenty different pamphlets have been sold inside the

mill by this unit. Each pamphlet circulates the same as Browder's books.

The idea of forming a woman's auxiliary of the union was brought in by members of the unit and is now realized.

Unit B has been guided personally by leading members of the section and district committees. Political discussions were held at almost every unit meeting *until the steel drive actually got under way.*

This leads to a consideration of some of the weaknesses of Unit B.

1. Since the organization of the unit only one member has been recruited in the fertile field created by the unit's work. This is due primarily to the fear of exposure. The comrades allowed this fear to provent them from carefully studying the possibilities and methods of further recruiting.

2. Insufficient training and education was carried on, considering the splendid material in the unit. Changing shifts make it impossible for the comrades to attend classes regularly. Practically all their spare time has been used in union work.

3. Attendance at unit meetings has always been bad on account of changing shifts. The unit tried to overcome this by changing the date of meetings. This has not remedied the situation and has resulted in poor fraction work in the union on several occasions.

Since the steel drive began the unit meetings have been less frequent. The comrades display splendid initiative in their union work. The same initiative could make Unit B a model shop unit of our Party.

4. The unit considered its union work not as its main work but as its *only* work. Party issues are looked upon as obstacles to work in the union instead of aids to the development of the political level of the workers in the mill. The members of Unit B did not collect one signature in the drive to put our Party on the ballot. Members of street units did secure signatures of workers in the same mill, showing that, if properly approached, the steel workers would sign.

5. Unit B has not cooperated sufficiently with Unit A, a larger unit in existence a number of years. As Unit A helped to finance the bulletin as well as distribute it, its members felt they were entitled to participate in making decisions. Such participation was excluded by lack of cooperation.

With the beginning of the steel drive Unit A came to life

again. Two new members were recruited and two more are expected within the next two weeks.

Unit B, however, also has splendid opportunities of recruiting. Several of their prospects are leaders of departments, who read our literature and press, but whom our comrades hesitate to approach for membership in the Party.

Several members of Unit A have been active as volunteer organizers of the union with splendid results.

The Section Committee is giving the problems mentioned its major attention. Out of the discussions being held with the comrades involved will come larger and better functioning shop units that will continue to be decisive factors in organizing steel.

Some Problems In Our Women's Work

MARIE HARRISON PIERCE, *Waco, Texas*

IN THE FIGHT against war and fascism our Party continually stresses the need for winning the masses of American women. Much progress has been made not only in drawing into the Party new women members and developing mass movements around their particular needs, but also in the development of women as Party leaders. One has but to glance at the *Party Organizer* or *The Communist* lately to note the increase in articles written by women comrades. This is important, just as our progress in developing Negro leadership is important. We could not expect to have masses of Negro people follow our leadership until we had a good number of leading Negro Communists.

At our Eighth National Convention there was a serious shortage of women. The Ninth Convention showed much progress in this respect.

In some of our units and Sections there used to be a theory that women were just naturally reactionary. Some of the units were composed of men only and when the first woman to join had the courage to stay and became active she was considered

an exception and a sort of freak. (I know this was true in some cases as I happened to be the only active woman for some time in a unit of twenty to thirty members.)

In a certain important industrial city in Texas, about a year ago there was a rapidly growing movement but not a woman was in it. The comrades acted as if they could conquer all other obstacles but that of getting women interested.

When we face the question of drawing the most oppressed sections of the population into our Party, we must prove to them that we not only make speeches but actually put up a fight for their rights; that we do this in spite of all obstacles, and that we are constantly carrying on educational work inside our Party to rid all our members of any remnants of bourgeois prejudices against this particular section of the oppressed people. This is true especially in our Negro work. It is also true in connection with our efforts to draw women into the Party. We must prove to them that we are a Party which carries out the teachings of Lenin, who said:

> "We hate, yes, hate, everything, and will abolish everything which tortures and oppresses the woman worker, the housewife, the peasant woman, the wife of the petty trader, yes, and in many cases the woman of the possessing classes."

Our leading comrades are familiar with the teachings of Lenin and with our Party line on the equality of women, but what of our comrades in the units, the Sections, and sometimes members of District Committees? We must realize that even though women in America are not forced to wear the veil, that even though they have the right to vote, there are still many hangovers of women's inferiority, and that workers do not shed this as a coat when they join the Party. We are not blaming these comrades but the system which has fostered these ideas. But we cannot close our eyes and neglect to take steps to develop a Communist attitude toward women. We recognize and blame the capitalist system for the chauvinism of the white worker, but instead of condoning and accepting it we set ourselves the task of educating and teaching through struggle until white workers will completely overcome this vicious poison.

Just a few illustrations from personal experience will help to show that there is need for educating our membership along this line.

A comrade after having been in the Party about six months, in speaking of a certain woman, made this remark at a unit meeting. "She is certainly a fine woman, stays at home all the time. She is one of the best women God ever made for a man."

A woman Party member was assigned certain work, but did not do it because her husband, also a Party member (a leader in his unit), would not permit her to do it.

A woman Party member would never say a word at unit meetings. When we urged her to take part she said she could not talk when her husband was there, that if she were in a different unit she might. After being transferred to another unit, she took more part in the discussion and became more active.

I know personally of a case where a comrade complained that his wife was antagonistic, and found, upon investigating, that it was because of an extreme sectarian attitude on religion; that intolerance of her church activity led her to think this to be the Communist position. This is a very important issue as the position of women has caused her to be more religious; church activity is in many cases almost the only outside interest women are permitted.

There are men who want their wives to join the Party, want them to agree with them, but when these women are serious about the work, want to be active, serious complaints are made, no matter how important the work is, if it interferes with the efficient service he expects from her.

As Part of the Fight Against Fascism

We know that fascism would bring to women increased oppression and discrimination, just as we know that fascism will especially victimize the Negro people. We must remember also the close connection between the ideology of white chauvinism and the attitude that women are inferior to keep in mind that it is in the South where both prejudices are strongest.

There could be many instances given to prove how these two prejudices go together, and to further emphasize that white women in the South should be especially energetic in overcoming every vestige of white chauvinism, remembering that the same chains that bind the Negro people also make double slaves of working women, and, in a lesser degree, of all women.

The vicious lies and frame-ups of Negroes have also served the purpose, not of "protecting" white women, but of further

enslaving them, making them easier to dominate, through groundless fears, have helped to keep them from going anywhere alone, or even to stay home alone.

We cannot afford to neglect anything that will help us win masses of women for the Party or to develop those who have joined. The war danger grows. We may face a war situation any day and be forced to replace some of our capable men leaders with women. We will not be prepared for such an emergency unless we pay particular attention to this problem.

What Can We Do to Increase the Understanding of the Leninist Position On the Woman Question?

1. Our educational department must send out outlines on this subject, (not only for women to read but for the whole membership).

2. From time to time some of our leading comrades should write articles developing these questions more fully. *And not just women comrades either.* (Could we ever have gone so far toward eliminating white chauvinism in our Party if only Negro comrades had led the struggle against it? No.)

3. There must be more energetic but comradely corrections and explanation made when prejudices against women are noticed.

4. We must stress the necessity for all Party members to read Lenin's *On the Woman Question* and other material, especially the men comrades.

5. We must especially encourage new women comrades in our ranks, remembering the recent statement of one of our women comrades.

"All my life I was taught women should stay home and if they wanted to know anything to ask their husband. It is very hard to change."

We must help them overcome this. We will be surprised at the ability many of them have that they never suspected. Thus we will develop new forces to help carry on the struggle, to follow the splendid example of many of our women leaders and especially of our beloved fighter, Mother Bloor.

How the Party Can Help Solve Weaknesses in the Y.C.L.

HENRY WINSTON

A CENTRAL TASK before the Party is how to build a really mass, influential progressive youth movement in America. The pivotal point in order to accomplish that end is a strong Young Communist League. Unfortunately, the Y.C.L., as a mass young Communist organization, remains much smaller than the Party. Many Districts have tackled the problem, but the Y.C.L. still grows at a very slow tempo. How is this to be explained?

1. Insufficient leadership given to the Sections and branches.
2. Lack of organized planned work.
3. Lack of closer working cooperation between Party and Y.C.L.
4. Problem of mobilizing the members of our League to carry out the various tasks assigned has not been mastered.
5. Weakness in division of tasks, and a weak and inexperienced personnel in the apparatus.

It appears that here we have an entire series of problems, but there is only one—*How to win the youth.* Who, other than the Party, can really lead and assist our younger people, who lack experience to carry on work in an effective manner? It is necessary, however, to point out that many Districts in their desire to assist the Y.C.L. adopt paper decisions—they are good ones, but they are not worth the effort put into them unless attempts are made to realize them. Take one of our Party Districts, a good District, doing very fine work in all fields of activity—trade unions, in building the party, in Farmer-Labor Party work, in unemployed and other organizations—all save the Y.C.L. Of course one can explain this by several reasons—reasons which are obvious to all concerned. But the key reason is that whereas in the top committees of the Party excellent discussions are held, clarifying Party understanding as well as the Party approach to the Y.C.L., these political discussions very seldom reach the Party units and fractions—at best, in a mechanical fashion. This is coupled with the fact that comrades

from the Party are not given specific assignments insofar as the youth movement is concerned. Unless the discussions of top committees are brought down to the branches, and other Party organizations in a clear and understandable manner the results which the Party wishes to achieve will not be forthcoming.

Let us ask ourselves the following questions: How many Party Districts and fractions in the last six months have placed the Y.C.L. on the agenda as a major point of discussion? How many Districts and Sections, and general fraction meetings, or meetings with individual fractions, have discussed concretely the problem of recruiting young workers from their shop, trade unions or mass organization? Is it not clear that just this step would go a long way to help solve the problems facing the youth movement?

It is indeed encouraging to note that several Districts are tackling this most important question and doing away with general discussions. However, we will cite here one example of methods used which help to hinder effective assistance to building the Y.C.L., despite all good intentions.

Five months ago a Party state organization at a state committee meeting made a thorough analysis of the conditions of youth in industry, in schools, in unemployment, etc. The conclusion: youth are moving Leftward, and therefore conditions are ripe for building a mass and influential Y.C.L. There were some excellent decisions adopted. If the Party had assigned comrades to help carry out these decisions into life, instead of having a Y.C.L. of 147 members (in that particular state) we could easily have *recruited* as many more.

What were these decisions?

1. To clarify the Party on youth work, based on decisions of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses by meetings of functionaries and Party committees. To call special conferences on youth work to crystallize a mass progressive youth movement. Definite cities and sections were named for work.

What happened in all of these months? Not one Party functionary meeting was held to discuss this problem; at the functionary meetings arranged this was not on the order of business. Why? The Party has two central campaigns—trade union work and the F.-L. P. Is it not clear that neither of these tasks can successfully be realized unless the youth are won for it? Is it not clear that it is just *this* work that makes it impossible

to build a mass League? And is it not clear that it is precisely the Party comrades in these phases of work that we wish to mobilize?

2. *Mass agitation.* The Party must make its position clear before the youth, put an end immediately to the situation where youth problems are relegated to the Y.C.L., a condition which is an obstacle to building a united non-party youth organization. The Party was to call a large mass meeting in which the State Organizer was to speak on the subject, "Which Way for Young America?" We might ask after five months—when will this large mass meeting be held? This would be an excellent opportunity for mass recruiting.

3. *Assigning forces.* The State Committee proposed to give *additional leading forces* to the Y.C.L. and to build it in several other cities. Well, the Party gave one leading comrade to the Y.C.L. and in his stead took away for general Party work four leading Y.C.L.'ers engaged in important work in key places. This type of exchange does not help to build the Y.C.L.

4. *Education.* The Party is to be responsible for conducting educational work among leading members, to have classes once a week, given by leading Party comrades in a broad and popular fashion understandable to the students. Here we congratulate the state organization for organizing a school for Y.C.L.'ers and the conducting of a study circle. This question is most important, and an aid in the development of our young people.

5. *Recruiting young workers.* The Party was to make a permanent part of its recruiting, the recruiting of young workers for the Y.C.L. Quotas were to be assigned to the branches and units. The Party does recruit and recruits young workers, but for the Party and not the Y.C.L. The units and fractions to date have not set themselves quotas for recruiting members into the Y.C.L.—despite the fact that if efforts had been made the influence of the Y.C.L. would have been greater in the shop and trade unions. At the time of this decision the membership of this Y.C.L. was 184, today it is 147. It is going backward instead of forward. There were other decisions—on the Youth Act, Youth Congress, unemployed organizations, etc. No one will question these resolutions; they are masterful documents, perfectly worked out on paper, and nicely placed in the drawers. But a Y.C.L. cannot be built in that manner.

Are there any other Districts guilty of such methods? If so, let us correct them. The Y.C.L. is launching a membership

drive to be carried through by January 1, a plan to double its membership which means the bringing in of an additional 10,000 members. This drive runs simultaneously with that of the Party. The aim is to achieve the goal of 100,000 members. This goal can be accomplished if the lower organizations of the Party are mobilized and put on a recruiting footing. How then can the Party on the basis of its mass experience really help to crystallize a mass influential Young Communist League?

One of the steps that must be taken is a thorough-going discussion at bureau and unit meetings on the conditions of youth in the territory in which the Party works. This will give the membership of the Party an understanding of Y.C.L. policies and tasks and will, thereby, mobilize the Party to develop a campaign around youth issues and demands such as the "Youth Act," concrete conditions of youth in the neighborhoods and shops. Such struggles create conditions not only of involving young people in various forms of activity but lay the basis for mass recruiting.

In order to get the best mobilization of the young people, it is necessary to give them the benefits of Party experiences. This can be done by assigning Party comrades to the Y.C.L. for youth work—comrades who will be in a position to give concrete, day-to-day guidance to our young comrades and thus aid in the development of a trained youth personnel. This should be accompanied by a weekly check-up by Party committees, keeping the membership informed as to the progress achieved. On the basis of these facts there should be a closer working relationship between the Party and Y.C.L. organization. It becomes more and more necessary that the Party bring its position on the youth question to all its gatherings; more than that, special lectures and forums should be held specifically on the youth question in which leading Party comrades should speak. The Party committees should take upon themselves the organizing of classes for leaders of the Y.C.L. at the same time conducting study circles for the Y.C.L. membership. This will create a desire for personal study among the young people.

Let the Party in all phases of its activity keep to the fore the fact that, whether among the unemployed, in mass organizations, shop or trade union, it is its task to build a strong powerful revolutionary organization in its territory—unit, Section or District.

AGIT-PROP SECTION

Developing Party Education

BEATRICE SHIELDS

To ORGANIZE our educational work in the Districts, Sections and units as part of our daily work is still the problem. During the election campaign greater numbers of Communist organizers and agitators among the masses are needed and the problem presents itself more acutely than ever. Our educational work therefore must become more popular; it must be organized to fill immediate needs and help to answer and solve problems; it must penetrate more deeply into the bottom of the Party and radiate to the sympathetic masses.

In the Chicago District we took note of these needs. We tried to grapple with the problem and apply some new methods which provided us with excellent experiences for deepening and systematizing this work in the future. Prior to the election campaign we realized that we must work fast to meet the mandate of our great Ninth Convention, to reach millions with our program of unity against reaction and war, to become responsible leaders in the trade unions and an effective factor in the organization of the unorganized. For this we need a broad core of people who will learn independently to react to rapidly changing events in line with our basic Party policy as laid down by the Convention.

To intensify our daily work and along with every activity conduct mass education is our task.

1. During the month of July, we conducted in the City of Chicago six training schools in every section of the city. The total students were over 150. Every school was managed and conducted independently by the Sections' educational apparatus and the Section Committees. The District supplied the outlines for study and additional teachers and lecturers in those Sections that could not meet their own needs. The schools lasted three weeks, for three evenings a week, three hours a night. One school kept the students together four nights and used the

extra time for collective study. This was an excellent addition, which other Sections could have followed with profit. The subjects were:

First week, "The Problems and Issues in 1936," based on Comrade Browder's report to the Ninth Convention, supplemented by outlines in question and answer form.

Second week, "Problems of Chicago Industry, Organization of the Unorganized and the Present Situation in the Trade Union movement." Each Section devoted one evening to its special concentration industries.

Third week, three lectures—(1) "The Struggle for Peace", (2) "Fascist Developments in the U. S.", and (3) "Problems of the American Youth."

The role of the Party was an integral part of each of the subjects which showed how the Party must work in all these current movements, and how it must build itself in the process.

The schools were, in the main, very effective and served the purpose well. The unanimous opinion of the instructors and the students is that Section training schools based on a study of immediate problems and issues serve to equip the Party with a more conscious core of people for active work, while at the same time it stimulates the appetite for further study. Most of the Section schools conducted graduation affairs and collected money to send the best students to the District training school and to the Chicago Workers School. The school in the stockyards Section was so effective that the comrades immediately demanded that we have such schools every three months and that we set up a permanent evening Workers School in the neighborhood.

Much of the success of the schools depends on the attitude of the leading comrades. In those Sections in which the Section Committee made the school part of its work and supervised the organization of them, the schools were helpful and effective. Others did not pay sufficient attention and the result was tardiness, irregularity of attendance, and a half-hearted interest on the part of the students and their instructors. This only occurred in one Section. Organization, preparation and punctuality go a long way to determine the success or failure of the schools.

The Party membership is willing and eager to study. In spite of the fact that most of the schools were conducted during extreme hot weather and during the period when the Party

was engaged in a feverish signature campaign, the attendance was good and very regular. The hunger for clarity and information is great in the Party. Comrades feel the need to equip themselves to answer the numerous questions workers are discussing. In many of the Sections the students led weekly discussions in their own units on what they learned in the school. This served immediately to give the entire Party the benefit of the schools.

The experiences of this summer and last summer in conducting Section schools lead us to the opinion that they are the most basic and most effective methods of training and should become the systematic regular form. In Chicago we will attempt to repeat these schools every three months wherever possible. In the weaker Sections, they will be held twice a year. The Section training schools are closer to home, they concretize problems better, the classes are smaller and enable the instructor and comrades in charge to pay more attention to individuals, and they provide the basis for higher Party training and further study.

More Qualified Teachers Needed

The spread and development of these Section schools depend greatly on qualified teachers. One of the chief obstacles to more frequent sessions of such schools is the lack of trained teachers in the Sections. Many of our teachers teach because they have to. They are thrown into situations without much training and do the best they know how. Considering this handicap, our teachers have done admirable work. But we cannot be satisfied. We are taking measures to solve this problem and to train a constant corps of new teachers for schools in the Sections.

During the fall and winter a teachers' training class will be conducted at the Chicago Workers School. Its object will be to supply the comrades with methods of study, with sources of material and to give a keener analysis of the theoretical basis of present events. Some time will be devoted to the study of methods of approach to students, how to present questions and how best to apply modern methods of teaching.

In the past we have had a very amateurish and home-made approach to methods of teaching. We did not lay any stress at all either on methods, or study of the science of teaching. Most of our teachers conduct classes like mass meetings and

conferences. There is too much speech making in the class rooms. There is not enough analysis and the hammering out of basic theoretical principles that will teach students how to work out problems for themselves. This is the method we must develop for our present and prospective teachers. We will attempt such an approach in our teachers' training class in Chicago.

Unit and Branch Education

With the organizational changes in the Party into ward and county and city organizations, there is a much better medium for political discussion of problems then was possible before. The County Committee is now a political body. However, the ward branches because of their bulky size present us with a number of problems. The first problem is how to organize education in the ward branches so that every Party member can participate. In many of the ward branches there is a lot of confusion as to whether there should be open unit meetings for education or lectures or forums or what not. Our experiences show that open unit meetings serve only as forums and although they should be used for recruiting and for discussing problems with a wider circle of workers and sympathizers, they cannot be the only medium of education in the units. At best these meetings serve to clarify certain issues but the bulk of the people just sit and listen and have no opportunity to speak or discuss.

As valuable as lectures are, big meetings are not suitable for adequate discussion and education. We have discussed these problems with the Section and unit Educational Directors at many meetings and conferences and have come to the conclusion that open unit meetings should be held when important issues arise, but the unit itself must conduct educational work for its own members regularly and systematically. The most effective material for such discussions are outlines on the question and answer method based on a particular article or pamphlet. In many of the wards where this method was tried the participation in discussion increased 100 per cent. Last May this method was initiated through a five-week course with all unit Educational Directors. In this class, outlines containing questions and answers based on material in the "Review of the Month" articles in *The Communist* were discussed with the Educational Directors. They in turn took the outlines and discussion back to the units the following week. The timeliness of the material and

the clarity that the Educational Directors obtained in the classes created very lively discussions in the units. It increased the sale of theoretical literature in the District, besides being an excellent method for inner unit education. The same thing was tried with Comrade Browder's report to the Ninth National Convention. Two question and answer outlines were issued to the units for discussion. The discussions were well conducted and a greater number of comrades participated.

The following proposals were adopted at the Educational Directors' meeting in line with the above:

1. To complete the selection of students and obtain finances for the District Training School on November 9.

2. To conduct Section training schools in every Section during the month of January or February.

3. To establish in as many Sections as possible neighborhood classes of a broad character for outside workers, which will be feeding grounds for students in the Chicago Workers School and which will lay the basis for branch schools in the near future. (Four such neighborhood classes are in the process of being prepared.)

4. To send a minimum of 10 per cent of Party members to the Chicago Workers School to the fall session which opens October 12.

5. To conduct monthly conferences of the unit and branch Educational Directors and conduct regular systematic discussions in the units every two weeks with prepared questions and answer outlines.

Section Schools in Chicago

FRANK MEYER

COMRADE SHIELDS' ARTICLE describes the character of the Section schools recently conducted in Chicago. The experience of the South Side Section may be useful in emphasizing one or two sides of the schools. The curriculum was roughly the same as that in the rest of the city; throughout the course, however, the problems of the Negro people were emphasized, and in the second week two evenings were specifically devoted to Negro questions—one to a discussion of the Negro question as a whole and the other to specific problems of work in Negro organizations.

In the course of the school about five teachers were utilized, with one comrade attending all classes and teaching the first week and the last evening. Different methods were used by the different teachers. The results attained seem to have been best when the question and answer method was used. In some cases 80 or 90 per cent of the students participated actively in the discussion.

The main lesson to be learned was that the construction of the school around immediate questions kept the interest of the students steady, and enabled them to contribute to the class from their own experience. It is no exaggeration to say that the teachers in the school learned as much from the mass experience of the students as the students did. The results of the increased interest can be seen in the attendance records. Out of 40 students, the average attendance was about 35. The last evening of the school had an attendance of 37.

The composition of the school was very carefully watched, and as a result the Ward Executives and the Section Committee made extremely good choices. Some facts might be interesting. There were 26 Negro comrades of whom 9 were women, and 14 white comrades of whom 7 were women. Eleven of the students had had training at the Workers School. Eight had been in the Party less than 6 months; 13 less than 18 months; and 12, two years or more. There were 9 members of Ward Executives, and 26 comrades active locally in mass organizations, Illinois Workers' Alliance, churches, Townsend Club, and four from trade unions. One special feature is that not only were there four students from the Y.C.L. directly, but four Wards sent Y.C.L.'ers as part of their own quota.

The important question now is following up these comrades. They are a cross section of the most active comrades in the branches. They have received training that should be directly useful in carrying that work further. But too often there has not been proper use of such training. We are trying to overcome that danger in two ways—by further study and by watching the work of the comrades. In four wards, the Executive Committees have already discussed the work of the students and their future assignments. In the rest this will take place.

Further study is particularly necessary because of the practical nature of the schools, and the fact that on no question was there time to dig extremely deeply. Our aim is to see to it that every student carries on further study. First, three of the students are going to the District School. Second, a class is being formed to meet once weekly and go into more fundamental problems, this class to be made up of eight or ten of the most promising students at the school who are engaged in important mass activity or ward leadership. Third, for the month following the school, branch educationals are being led by the students from the schools on the basis of outlines covering the questions studied in the school. Fourth, the Ward Educational Directors are taking personal responsibility for seeing that all of the students continue studying, and for encouraging them to attend the proper classes in the Workers School or in the broader neighborhood classes we are starting.

One or two weaknesses of the schools should be considered. The lack of any organizational discussion was the outstanding criticism by the students. This must be remedied in the next series of Section Schools. Also, a greater effort must be made next time to provide a guide to further reading on the subjects discussed. Some of the students have proposed that after six weeks or so we hold a "reunion" of the students to discuss what they have gained from the school in their work and what more they think they could have gained by changes in the school. This should be a good basis for improving the next school.

But in spite of weaknesses, the fact that the school stayed close to the ground and answered some, at least, of the problems of the students in their daily work is the best sign that this type of school is a big step forward toward developing the kind of local education we need—education that helps build leadership in the ward branches and local mass organizations.

Again on the Problem Of Party Leading Personnel

IRENE LESLIE

EVERY DAY BRINGS PROOF that our Party is increasingly being recognized as a serious political factor. The enemies are intensifying their anti-Communist propaganda, calculated to frighten the broad public with the phantom of Communism. The people in town and country are becoming more and more interested in the Communist Party. When the Party propaganda, contained in speeches of leaders and articles in the *Daily Worker,* reaches the people, such influence should be consolidated organizationally.

For this purpose we need organizers, trained leaders. The promoting and training of new leading personnel is lagging behind the growth of the movement. Again and again we must remind our leading forces that they must study the new comrades and try to develop their special capacities in Party and mass work. They must be bolder in promoting new comrades, testing them, checking up on their work, helping them by advice and personal cooperation. Our schools must become smithies of cadres.

This task demands of us patience, persistance and a comradely attitude as well as the elimination of peremptory command. The developing of new cadres must go hand in hand with recruitment into the Party. We should work with new methods, in the spirit of collective work and personal responsibility, mercilessly rooting out individualist tendencies.

Comrades should be encouraged to specialize in certain fields of Party work and should be used according to their abilities and in the field that is most familiar to them. Comrades who display an aptitude for leadership should be encouraged. As an example we can cite the initiative and courage demonstrated by the Tampa comrades in the election meeting at which Comrade Browder was to speak and which was prevented by the Ku Klux Klan and Liberty League. For two hours more then 1,000 militant workers stood in the street waiting for the meeting. The discipline was such that they refused to be trapped by police provocation. This gave proof to the organizational ca-

pacities of our Tampa comrades who organized the meeting through active work among the workers in their homes and factories.

It must be stated that there is still a reluctance existing in our Party ranks to promote new forces who have demonstrated their abilities for organizational leadership, thus preventing the development of initiative of new comrades and therefore narrowing the influence of the Party as a whole.

There is also a noticeable abstract approach to the problems of education and training, ignoring the issues of every day life. As an example: at a branch meeting which I visited a short time ago in New York the reading of announcements consumed almost the entire evening. This meeting was conducted in such a manner that many of the audience who were new members were very distressed. I do not think that abstract methods of work and phrase-mongering can really stimulate recruitment and education and promoting new cadres.

We must very thoroughly approach this problem, work out a real system of education and organization of the growing forces of the Party, in order that the Party should become not only a political but organizational strong factor in the life of the American people.

The training of personnel as a concrete task for our Party is still in its very beginnings. We have not yet been able to evaluate the work that is being done in this respect by our units and Sections for the simple reason that there has been no interchange of experience in training of new comrades for responsible work. The *Party Organizer* is therefore throwing open its columns to all comrades whose experience will enable us to develop Bolshevik cadres. We want not only positive achievements, but also experiences that show us what is to be avoided. A broad discussion in these columns on the question of building additional leading forces is now in order.

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